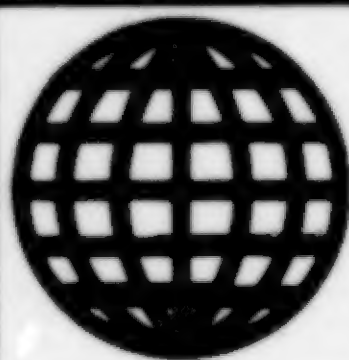




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East Asia

JAPAN

INTERVIEWS WITH LEADERS OF RIGHTIST GROUPS

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JAPAN
INTERVIEWS WITH LEADERS OF RIGHTIST GROUPS

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14 December 1990

JAPAN

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* Leaders of 18 Rightist Groups Discuss Agenda

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[Interviews with leaders of 18 Rightist Groups by GENDAI]

[Text] With the *Daijosai* [Great Thanksgiving Festival -ceremonies which take place after the coronation of the emperor, in which the emperor makes offerings of the new rice crop to the Shinto deities] approaching, Japan is in a state of upheaval due to the controversy over the imperial system.

At the same time, with monumental changes occurring elsewhere, notably in Eastern Europe, Japan stands at the crossroads, faced with many decisions (the problem of the Northern Territories, the Japan-U.S. SII [Structural Impediment Initiative] talks, and the situation in China).

Nationalist movements are springing up all over the world. Right-wing and nationalist organizations are honing their arguments, and their activities have taken on a new sense of urgency.

In the minds of the public, the image of the right-wing movement is usually an ominous one. The rightists' aggressive behavior (cavalcades of sound trucks with the volume at full blast, their ideology, which does not rule out terrorism...). We decided to interview some of the front-line activists, to find out what they think about the problems Japan faces, and what sort of action they intend to take.

The right-wing movement has advocates ranging from "groups" with only one member to associations of groups. In this feature article we have made no attempt to provide a synthesis of the views of the entire right-wing movement.

Michio Asanuma (Chief Adviser, Dainippon Aikoku Dantai Rengo [Great Japan Union of Patriotic Groups])

Mr. Asanuma was born in 1922, and attended Nihon University. In 1952, he joined the Japan Socialist Party, which had right-wing leanings at that time. He was elected to the Sugunami Ward [Tokyo] assembly in the first postwar local election. He withdrew from the party when it began to lean toward the left under chairman Mosaburo Suzuki. Since then, he has run for office in both the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors.

I am pleased at the democratization of six Eastern European nations, and that the human race is once again on the right track. This might be termed an "escape to the free zone." And the citizens of East Germany have chosen to be absorbed by, to merge with, a free nation.

Still, there are some unfortunate souls whom this reality has escaped. I am referring to the Japan Communist Party, which one might liken to the horse with a carrot

held in front of its nose. The carrot represents Marxism and Leninism, and the horse keeps on going, even though it will never be able to eat the carrot. Marxism and Leninism are like the *sumo* wrestler who is falling down on his way to a loss, with no hope of a comeback. The Japan Communist Party members are not the only misguided ones. The Chinese Communist Party is in the same situation, as is North Korea.

Nevertheless, the Japanese Government has decided to resume yen loans to China. This is not necessary. Economic aid will only result in the strengthening of China's military capability. Japan is playing right into the hands of the enemy.

Another major problem is Shin Kanemaru's statement. I am speaking of the following outburst: "If they won't give back all four islands, two are better than none, even if we have to buy them." He was referring, of course, to the Northern Territories. We must assume that he has become senile, rather than that he has lost his mind. The Northern Territories, including Habomai and Shikotan, which are part of Hokkaido, all the Kurile Islands, and southern Karafuto [southern Sakhalin], were stolen from Japan by the Red Empire, the Soviet Union. There is historical evidence for Japan's sovereignty over these territories.

Therefore, it is logical that Japan should demand that the invader, the Soviet Union, quickly withdraw from our Northern Territories, and that the USSR compensate Japan for damages suffered as a result of that invasion.

Foreign Minister Nakayama has referred to southern Karafuto by its Soviet name, "Sakhalin." By doing this, he is acknowledging that southern Karafuto is Soviet territory. Since when has that been the case?

I sent an inquiry to Kanemaru and Nakayama about correcting these errors, but have not received any response. This is unspeakable behavior. And it's not just Kanemaru and Nakayama who have this attitude toward China and the Soviet Union. The entire LDP [Liberal Democratic Party] has been afflicted with mass senility.

The flag is a physical symbol of our nation, and the national anthem is an expression, in the form of words and music, of our sincere respect and affection for our fatherland.

Yet the left-wing degenerates screech their foolish prattle, insisting that our flag is "a symbol of militarism" and "conjures up the image of war." Everyone knows that our flag is modeled after the sun. Are these groups saying that we should avoid the sun, and stay in the dark all day long?

They revile *Kimigayo* [the Japanese national anthem], insisting that it symbolizes the imperial reign, and only the imperial reign. If the imperial reign flourishes, then the people flourish, too. It is impossible to separate the imperial reign from the people.

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Our flag and our national anthem are recognized throughout the world. If these people insist on opposing these symbols, I challenge them to show me any national flag or national anthem about which every citizen is in agreement.

In our activities, we are always mindful to avoid causing any inconvenience to well-intentioned people. But, in our enthusiasm, sometimes we may get carried away, and go too far. I understand what people mean when they criticize us, but I wish they would give some thought to what has led us to act the way we do.

Fukumatsu Adachi (Chairman, *Raimeijuku* [Sound of Thunder Institute])

Mr. Adachi was born in 1943. After graduating from high school, he enlisted in the Ground Self-Defense Force. He resigned after two years, and then became active in the right-wing movement. After heading the Hokuriku division of the *Seishikai* for nearly ten years, he founded the *Raimeijuku* in Fukui in 1982. Currently, the Institute has 20-30 members.

When there is an excess of money, everyone becomes selfish. When life is easy, we think that things will go on this way forever. This thought process leads to the illusion that Japan will continue to be one of the leading nations in the world.

Isn't this the situation in Japan right now? Should we be satisfied with it? Isn't something missing? What is missing is an interest in protecting our nation. Present-day Japan descends from an unbroken line of history and culture. To protect our heritage, we need military strength, but we need more than that. The heart of every Japanese must be filled with the desire to protect our nation. Everything starts there.

And that is why every 11 February, National Founding Day, I hand out red-and-white cakes to passersby on the street, and urge them to take an interest in our nation.

Public opinion is now in head-on conflict over all the problems facing us: the imperial system, our nation's flag, the national anthem, the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, the Constitution, and the Northern Territories. In my eyes, these arguments are unproductive from start to finish; nothing useful results from them.

Why is that? It is because people have forgotten what should be the starting point—the desire to protect our nation.

A society is controlled by its politics, laws, and systems. However, nothing is born of arguments with no "heart."

My activities are now taking place mainly in Kobe and Fukui. In the course of these activities, many things happen which annoy me—too many to mention. One is the mentality of the police officials.

The police officials refuse to take responsibility. Who took responsibility when the leftists caught the police

unawares, and made assaults on facilities connected with the imperial family? No one. The National Public Safety commissioner didn't submit his resignation, nor did anyone else.

If the leaders have no "heart," what can we expect of the followers? That is why people get the simplistic notion that Japan can be protected simply by mobilizing people and spending money.

Judging from the government's resuming yen loans to China, which is still reeling from the Tiananmen incident, it appears that our politicians think that peace can be bought.

I cannot be the only one who fears for the future of a complacent, over-prosperous Japan.

Toru Kaida (Director, *Shinnihon Kyogikai* [New Japan Council])

Mr. Kaida was born in 1921. He graduated from Takushoku University ahead of schedule and joined the Manchurian division of the Japanese Army. When Japan was defeated in World War II, he was held prisoner-of-war in Siberia for four years. After returning to Japan, he founded a publishing company. In 1958, when the *Shinnihon Kyogikai* was established, he went to work in the executive office. He was appointed director in 1975. The Council has approximately 30,000 members.

The main purpose of our activities is to bring about the awakening of Japan. Japan is not a truly independent nation. Even though 45 years have elapsed since our defeat in World War II, we still bear the scars of that war. One reason for that is that, still under occupation, Japan was branded as an aggressor nation by the Military Tribune for the Far East. This meant that everything Japan had done up to the end of World War II was evil.

Then there was the United States' anti-Japan occupation policy, which was designed to prevent Japan from ever rising up again. Postwar democracy infiltrated every aspect of our lives. The Communist Party and the Japan Teachers' Union took advantage of this situation to reform Japan's educational system. Then the assertions of progressive intellectuals became the main themes of the mass media. These empty doctrines gave birth to violent ultra-left groups.

Japan is a nation with over 2,600 years of history, tradition, and culture. There are plenty of Japanese who have a masochistic perception of history. And it isn't just the young. There are also middle-aged people who think in this way. They have all forgotten what the true spirit of independence is. It is time for the Japanese people to reaffirm Japanese history, tradition, and the emperor, who is at the core of both of these. This is what I mean by an awakening.

It is impossible to tell Japan's story without mentioning the emperor. If we carry this argument to its extreme, Japan exists because the emperor exists. A joyful event for our emperor will take place this fall. The debates

about the emperor have been a major step toward awakening a Japan spiritually weakened by scheming and misguided democracy since its defeat in the war.

With the emergence of the true Japan and the true Japanese people, we will have the basis for internationalization. Internationalization is not about speaking English. When people who possess the splendid Japanese spirit and Japanese "heart" are respected for being truly Japanese, and are working toward international goals, then we have internationalization.

If Japan's domestic affairs are not in good order, then internationalization is nothing but a castle in the air. Our view is that the awakening of Japan is vital for these purposes, and our activities have been planned with that goal in mind. Japanese politics is so outdated that it is difficult to even call it politics. That Japan has progressed to where it is today, in spite of that, we owe to the presence of the emperor.

Now that the world is in a state of transition, Japan must get a grip on itself. In my opinion, communism is dead, but I find it hard to believe that the USSR, China, or North Korea will move toward democracy any time soon. And it will take some time before Eastern Europe adopts a market economy. It will certainly not be an easy process. Not only has the Soviet Union not decreased its military forces in the Far East, it is even increasing them substantially.

That is why we must maintain the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. But we need to keep an independent spirit, so that we can say no when the other party, even if it is an allied nation, demands something of us that is wrong.

Seigoro Kitakami (Vice chairman, *Dainippon Seisanto* [Great Japan Productive Party])

Mr. Kitakami was born in 1923. The *Dainippon Seisanto* was formed in 1931, but was forced to disband by the U.S. occupation forces after Japan's defeat in World War II. In 1954, Mr. Kitakami took part in the reestablishment of the party. He served as secretary and as chairman of the executive committee, becoming vice-chairman in 1981. The party has approximately 3,000 members, and issues a monthly publication, *Chuo Joho Tsushin* [Central Information Report].

It is the fervent desire of the Japanese people that our Northern Territories, which were illegally occupied by the Soviet Union, be returned to us. Gorbachev is scheduled to visit Japan next year, and it is likely that the problem of the Northern Territories will be resolved at that time. It is also possible that a peace treaty will be concluded then. We are about to overcome the final obstacle.

Though the Soviet Government has not clearly stated its position on the Northern Territories, various signals are coming from government circles. One proposal is that

the Northern Territories be maintained as a trust territory of the United Nations, to undergo joint development by Japan and the USSR.

Last January Politburo member Yakovlev visited Japan, and presented a proposal called "the third path." It is not clear whether this proposal represents the official position of the Soviet Government. But when Governor Yokomichi of Hokkaido Prefecture, during his visit to Moscow in June, met with director Chitarenko of the Far Eastern Research Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, he was told about Yakovlev's "third path" concept in more detail. The concept apparently involves a multi-stage solution.

What sort of solution is this? This "third path" consists of four points: (1) that we revert back to the Japan-U.S.S.R. joint statement made in 1956, which stipulates the return of two islands, Habomai and Shikotan, (2) that Japan should not attach any preconditions whatsoever to the normalization of Japan-Soviet relations, (3) that Japan should be careful not to air ill-advised opinions or attitudes which might spoil president Gorbachev's visit, and (4) that military forces should promptly be withdrawn from said territories.

Chitarenko hinted that it was very likely that Gorbachev would adopt this approach, but we cannot accept such a proposal. We have continually called for the return of all four islands since the end of the war. Legally, the northern Kuriles also belong to Japan. But we must do everything possible to have the four islands returned to Japan. This is the earnest wish of the Japanese people.

This September Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will visit Japan. We plan to hold a rally, attended by several thousand people, to coincide with that visit. We intend to use this rally to apply pressure to the Japanese Government, so that it will not make any concessions concerning the return of the four islands. Japan absolutely must continue to uphold the inseparability of politics and economics. We must not enter into economic cooperation with the USSR without the assurance that all four islands will be returned to Japan. And our group will continue with its appeal to the government, at the risk of our very lives.

Shin Kanemaru, the one who announced that "we will accept the return of two islands. We can buy the other two back, if we have to," has met unofficially with Primakov, an aide to Gorbachev. He must have been brainwashed by the Soviets in their maneuverings against Japan. His statement has infuriated the patriotic camp to the point where a rumor has spread that rightists who normally remain in the background are after Kanemaru. Also, in an interview, former LDP Secretary General Abe has publicly stated that the policy stipulating the inseparability of politics and economics should be revised.

In any case, the officials of our government and of the LDP must get hold of themselves.

As for the *Daijosai* this fall, it is only natural that plans to conduct it as a national celebration should be firmly adhered to.

The *Daijosai* is a festival connected with the very roots of the Japanese nation and its emperor. According to Chapter 1, Article 2 of the Constitution, "the imperial throne shall be dynastic and succeeded to in accordance with the Imperial House Law."

Here we have confirmation that the emperor comes from an unbroken imperial line. I am unable to accept the fact that this traditional ceremony, which is indispensable to the emperor's accession to the throne, is not being conducted as a national ceremony.

Hakobu Konishi (Representative, Kokuyukai [Patriots' Association])

Mr. Konishi was born in 1941. After graduating from high school, he worked as a company employee and as a karate instructor. In 1974 he formed the antecedent of the *Koyukai*, the *Dainippon Kokuyukai* [Great Japan Patriots' Association]. After leftists fired a rocket at the Imperial Palace, the *Kokuyukai* members were quick to take retaliatory action. Mr. Konishi cut off his little finger and sent it, along with a warning message to [then] Prime Minister Tanaka. The association has approximately 50 members.

The *Daijosai* will take place this fall, but there are too few people who are knowledgeable about the ceremonies of the imperial family. That is because there has been too much of a taboo about talking about or inquiring into the affairs of the emperor or the imperial family. And, since people do not understand much about the emperor or the imperial family, whenever a court ceremony is about to take place, the problem of separation of religion and state comes up, just as it did on the occasion of the funeral rites for Emperor Showa.

In my opinion, the emperor and the imperial family have no connection whatsoever with the principle of separation of religion and state. This issue concerns only religions and religious sects, and has no relationship to the imperial household. There is absolutely no evidence to show that the successive generations of emperors have given their protection to any particular religion or religious sect. Our emperors have always considered the well-being of all the Japanese people, and have prayed for the prosperity of our nation, and for everlasting world peace.

It is the imperial household that holds festivals in the form of traditional ceremonies. Through the ages, emperors have continued to perform rites honoring the imperial ancestors and the imperial sect, but this imperial sect is not what is generally termed a religion, but is one based on *Shinto*. People often ask me if the emperor is a god. Not many people seem to want to discuss this issue. Since some say yes, he is a god, the questioners become more confused than ever.

The emperor is not a god. He is not a god, but I do want to make it clear that he is a divine personage who comes as close as possible to being a god. If that idea is not gotten across, then the emperor will continue to be misunderstood. The emperor conducts ceremonies based on *Shinto*, which are completely different from other ceremonies. These misunderstandings occur because many people confuse *Shinto* with standard religions.

Normally, when we refer to religions, we are talking about Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, and various other religions which have cropped up recently. Since *Shinto* shrines all over Japan, including Yasukuni Shrine, are considered as religious entities, people have the mistaken impression that the ceremonies of the imperial household are also religious ceremonies. *Shinto* transcends all religions. In that sense, it is possible to say that the successive generations of emperors are not gods, but are exalted personages who come very close to being gods.

It should be understood that the *Daijosai* is the most important among the ceremonies of the Imperial household. In this ceremony, the emperor dedicates the rice grown by our citizens. The rice plant is fundamental to Japan, the land of the sacred rice plant. Therefore, I am against the liberalization of rice [imports]. If Japan's farmers cease to grow rice, what will happen? We cannot use foreign-grown rice at our cherished *Daijosai*.

I am against the liberalization of rice [imports], but now that Japan has become an economic superpower, we must lend our support to other nations and maintain friendly ties with the rest of the world. Japan cannot remain forever dependent on the United States, and must take on its proper share of the defense burden.

Eastern European socialism has collapsed, and the Soviet economy is on the verge of annihilation. Five years ago, I realized that the ruin of the Soviet Union was imminent, so I stopped making anti-communist statements at that point. Japan should give economic and technical support to the Soviet Union, so that its citizens can attain a better standard of living. Politics and economics should be treated separately. It will be fine if we can have the Northern Territories returned to Japan, while continuing to enjoy friendly relations with the USSR. We can use economic aid to barter for their return. Japan is now a member of the international community, but without an international outlook, it cannot be a proper nation.

Kunio Suzuki (Representative, Issuikai [First Wednesday Association])

Mr. Suzuki was born in 1943. He became involved in nationalist activities while studying at Waseda University. In 1970, he joined the staff of *SANKEI SHIMBUN*. After resigning from the newspaper, he founded the *Issuikai*, inspired by Hissho Morita (a friend from Suzuki's student days), who was involved in Yukio

Mishima's suicide. He puts out a bulletin entitled *Reconquista*, and has written several books.

Last February, on the occasion of Japan's transition from the Showa to the Heisei era, the ASAHI SHIMBUN conducted a public opinion survey. The results of that survey showed that 83 percent of the Japanese people approve of the existence of a symbolic emperor, and that 4 percent would like the emperor to have more authority. So, 87 percent of our citizens support the imperial system.

Some may think that, with a symbolic emperor, we do not have an imperial system at all. But the emperor existed within a militaristic system for only a very brief period of time. On the other hand, emperors have had authority, separate from politics, for a very long time. In that sense, I think that the situation in present-day Japan is quite normal. Are we not now closer to the emperor than at any other time in history?

But, although an overwhelming majority of the Japanese people supports the imperial system, this sentiment has been turned around by the mass media, in a sort of fiction they have created.

The right-wing movement has been manipulated to a great extent by the mass media's illusions, ever since the Security Treaty controversy in 1960. There were insinuations that, if things continued as they had been, Japan would undergo a communist revolution. At that time, we had the same fears. Therefore, we felt that we had to oppose every single aspect of the left-wing movements, that we were in the minority, and that we wouldn't be accepted. In a way, being in the minority made us narcissistic. We thought that there was nothing wrong with being a little reckless, and that terrorism was the only answer.

It is certainly true that the right-wing movement was driven to terrorism because the mass media wouldn't take us seriously, but that is no excuse for terrorism. Many of our problems resulted from the fact that we made no effort to create a forum for our views. We considered discussions a waste of time, and we didn't have the patience to talk with left-wing groups. For us, the only answer was terrorism or a coup d'etat. The thought process had stopped. This was our excuse for not trying hard enough.

Some people are convinced that terrorism is the only means to achieving their goals, and it may be that terrorism is excusable if all other means have been attempted, to no avail, but this is not something that should be publicly announced. At the very least, when a forum is provided enabling right-wing groups to speak to the left-wing movement and to ordinary citizens, when they want to hear what we have to say, so that we can discuss our views with everyone...no, what I am trying to emphasize is that terrorism is an escape. It is cowardly. So, if the only means available to us is discussions, we must have the courage to take advantage of it.

At the same time, in our circles, we use terminology which is understood only by us, such as "clarification of the concept of national structure" and "evil elements in the imperial court." I think that we must retain this practice.

Both the left-wing and right-wing movements must get over their complexes about being minority groups. Once they have accepted the fact that their way of thinking differs from the norm, then they can decide what they intend to do. There is absolutely nothing to be gained by trying to force people to think the way you do and, when you are unsuccessful in doing so, branding them as traitors or reactionaries.

The Berlin Wall has been destroyed, and NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization are gradually moving to the point where their military functions will cease. The dreams of the past have become realities. Some are even saying that 50 years from now, the world will be one nation. Should that become the case, Japan will have to think more on a global scale, and not just about Japan.

When that time comes, the world cannot become one nation unless Japan holds fast to its flag, national anthem, and emperor. These are indispensable, unlike the *Internationale* of the Left. The rest of the world will have nothing to do with Japanese who say that they dislike Japan, but like other nations.

Masayoshi Takahashi (Chairman, Seishikai [New Thought Association])

Mr. Takahashi was born in 1920. He acquired a reputation for bravery as a member of the *Hinomaru Seinentai* [Rising-Sun Flag Youth Corps], which attacked the *Zengakuren* [National Federation of Students' Self-Government Association] during the strife over the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty in 1959. He became adviser to the *Seishikai* which was founded in 1961, inspired by the late Yoshio Kodama. Mr. Takahashi was a pioneer in the right-wing movement, who also ran a successful business. The association has about 500 members.

First, I would like to talk about the *Daijosai*. My view is that the entire nation should mobilize itself for the *Daijosai*. But first the emperor must ascend the throne. However, it will cost hundreds of million yen to hold this celebration, the funds for which can come from only three sources. One is contributions from the Japanese people, which will not be accepted. The second choice is to use the assets of the Imperial household, which is also impossible. All that remains is for the government to classify it as an official function of the Imperial household. I do not see anything wrong with the government's providing these funds.

Others may disagree, but that does not bother me. If we were to listen to the leftists, then our emperor would be forced to endure a low standard of living. I would like those who disagree to consider whether that is an appropriate path for the emperor's subjects to choose.

Now that Japan has become a member of the international community, the right-wing movement is talking about obtaining a thorough understanding of the world situation, so that its philosophy will be in step with the rest of the world in this new era. That is all very well, but since, even within the right-wing movement, there are many different ways of thinking, I am always careful not to talk about "right-wing philosophy" or "the mission of the right-wing movement." Each group expresses its own views, as in, e.g., "the mission of the *Seishikai*."

In our group, the *Seishikai*, for many years our mottoes have been "once you begin an activity, don't give up until it has been completed," "don't come back without an answer," and "don't accept any money." Our adherence to these mottoes made it possible for us to establish a business so quickly. Most of the *Seishikai* members have full-time jobs. I also think that outdoor speeches are a waste of time. Our group does this only after each monthly meeting, and only for purposes of study. Showing opposition to the Japan Teachers' Union by storming in on it in sound trucks is old hat. When it was hard to find jobs, I encouraged our student members to enter the teaching profession, and many of them have become teachers. We want them to destroy the Japan Teachers' Union from within. I also think that the right-wing movement should have become involved in environmental problems.

A movement which alienates the Japanese people has no chance of succeeding. I want this idea to become firmly established in my lifetime. As long as Japan has economic prosperity, its citizens will not see the light. But I am certain that someday anger will spread throughout the nation, and the time will come for us to act. That is why I tell our people to study as hard as they can, and to learn about the international situation, and to undergo training. For the past 15 years, we have held our annual three-night, four-day training session, without fail.

What shall we do when our time has come? Since Japan will continue to exist for eternity, though it may be poorer than it is now, we must build a long-sustaining nation in which people can live with a true sense of security. And the time to start is now.

The movement which espouses right-wing philosophy is small. When Yoshio Kodama instructed me to "stake your life on your beliefs and make your mark on the world," I traveled all over the world, and realized that the right-wing movement will have to acquire an international outlook. I think that about ten years from now the situation in Japan will worsen and, at that time, there will be a showdown between Japan and the United States. The United States has the advantage of being able to unite its people and government. If Japan retains its present political structure, it will not be able to stand up to the United States. In Japan, politicians are involved in every sort of corruption, but in the United States, practices such as offering incentives to industry, are done openly, and accepted. If we really want to stop these evils, we should not allow Diet members to be

appointed to ministerial posts, since we know that this is the root of the many evils of political factions. This is standard procedure in the United States. When we are shown a good example, we should follow it.

In any case, we need more romance in the right-wing movement. In Palau, I collected the remains of Japanese soldiers, and built a cenotaph. It took ten years. Carrying out Kodama's dying wish, "gathering the remains of those who died for our country," was a romantic experience for me.

Takeyuki Tanaka (Chairman, Kokyokusha [Ultimate Imperial Society])

Mr. Tanaka was born in 1963 and attended Obirin College. At the age of 18, he founded the *Kokyokusha*. The society started a movement to promote legislation for bomb shelters, and arranged a commemoration of the sixtieth year in the reign of Emperor Showa. It also supports the democratic movement in China, runs language schools, and issues publications. Mr. Tanaka is the great-grandson of the head of the *Genyosha* [Pan-Pacific Society] in its early days, Kotaro Hiraoka. The society has approximately 30 members.

The most important cause for me right now is supporting the democratization movement in China. A reform which results in the democratization of China will have a great influence on Japan's future, also. If ties are formed between these two nations which have inherited the same culture, an end can be brought to the partitioning and ruling of the world by the United States and the Soviet Union.

Years ago, sympathizers from one of Japan's opposition parties supported Sun Yat Sen's Chinese revolution. I think that that support played a major role in stopping the European and American powers from expanding their colonial rule in Asia. But then and now, too, the Japanese Government is not well disposed toward such efforts on the part of opposition parties.

The Japanese Government recognized the interests of Yuan Shih Kai, who was putting pressure on Sun Yat Sen. In return for this support, Japan forced the Twenty-One Article Treaty upon China, which, of course, gave rise to anti-Japanese sentiment.

Now Japan is doing the same thing. Our foreign policy is conducted in the interests of China's Communist Party Government. Therefore, Japan's Government is loath to support a popular movement seeking democratization. It seems that the Japanese Government, rather than supporting a popular movement, which to it is neither fish nor fowl, prefers to support the Chinese Communist Party, since it holds the reins of power. There are too many politicians who are receiving kickbacks from yen loans, or attempting to get contributions from businesses through ODA [Official Development Assistance].

About five years ago, by a chance of fate, I met some of the members of a group headed by Wang Bingzhang, the

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founder of CHINA SPRING. Participating in some of the group's activities made me realize how much the Chinese people thirst after democracy.

Last May, after forming the Chinese Democratic Party in New York, Wang Bingzhang was on his way to Beijing via Japan, but at Narita Airport, he was not permitted to board the Japan Air Lines plane. At that time, I had the opportunity to have an intimate and frank discussion with Mr. Wang about the future of China and Asia.

Japanese diplomacy is simply hopeless. It is not an independent diplomacy, but one of constant maneuvering and forestalling, dealing only with the situation at hand. It is up to us to design a far-reaching, hundred-year plan for our nation, and to create a new people's diplomacy, without relying on our government. As fellow Asians, we must support the movement to democratize China, and work for the protection of human rights. If we do not, Japan will really be isolated.

When Japan can join hands with a democratized China, and can conduct its diplomacy independently and from an Asian point of view, it will have achieved independence in the true sense of the word. Then we will have no need for the Security Treaty with the United States. Japan must take a third path, which is neither Western nor Eastern. Japan must awaken to the fact that we are a nation of Asians.

An examination of problems close to home shows that the Japanese still do not see themselves as part of the Asian community. For instance, we have the foreign student problem. For white students, apartments and part-time jobs are plentiful, but the opportunities for Asian foreign students are limited. The Japanese Government views foreign students from China simply as migrant workers. If this continues to be the case, we cannot possibly hope for any unity between Japan and China, much less between Japan and Asia.

Then, we have the problem of the emperor. The emperor is not an authority, nor a despot. Neither is he a symbol of the nobility. Since the age of mythology, the emperor, through rites and festivals, has built our nation, together with its people. This has all been possible because the Japanese people have always had familial ties with the emperor, who has shared his spirit with them.

In the Western world, ordinary citizens who were able to gain power emerged as rulers, resulting in a hostile relationship between the ruler and his subjects. During and after the Meiji era, some Japanese worshippers of the West thought that the Westernization of Japan would lead the way to modernization, and attempted to model the Imperial household after the British royal family. The Imperial Household Agency and the Japanese Government still feel that way. They are trying to make the Imperial household a symbol of high society, as in the West, to protect their own authority. This sort of behavior goes against Japan's fundamental nature, and must not be tolerated.

Noboru Nakagawa (Representative, Toa Renmei Doshikai [East Asian Alliance])

Mr. Nakagawa was born in 1954. While a senior at Kokushikan University, he studied with the director-in-chief of the association, Mutojiro Ito. The association was established in 1936 by General Kanji Ishihara. Ito, influenced by the philosophy of Shumei Okawa and Ikki Kita, became a volunteer in the movement to establish a Manchurian nation. The association has approximately 20 members.

The mission and duty of the Japanese people is to make a contribution to world peace. However, there are problems with the right-wing movement's current perception of this mission. I fear that, from the viewpoint of making a contribution to world peace, the Japanese right-wing movement's existence is threatened.

Standard catchphrases, such as "the Soviet Union is shameful" and "the United States is no good" have formed the main trends of the movement. But this planet is not owned by the Soviet Union or by the United States. It is the property of all mankind. If we look at the situation in this light, we see that the changes currently evolving in Eastern Europe are not coincidental, but have come about because they were necessary to build an environment linked to a new relationship, survival on earth.

From now on the mainstays of the world will not be military strength, but the doctrines of morality and peace, and these will become the guiding principles in the competition for survival. That is how I see it.

The flowers in a flower bed are more beautiful when they are of different varieties and colors than when they are, for instance, all yellow. Each flower has its own particular characteristics. This sort of concept is what is needed in the right-wing movement now.

What can we gain from total, unyielding opposition to the United States or the Soviet Union? The time-honored espousing of "isms" will have negative results not just for Japan, but for any people who seek independence. If we allow ourselves to be carried away with emotional arguments, even if we succeed in convincing the Japanese people, we will not be able to convince people of other nations.

The same can be said for Japan's most important theme, the imperial system. The imperial system is the basis of Japan's existence. The emperor and his people have a parent-child relationship, and are bound together by the emotions of parent and child. But, for instance, among five siblings, it is not unusual for there to be one "black sheep." Are we going to say that the black sheep, the communist, cannot possibly be a Japanese, and must be exiled to some other nation? It is important for us to value spiritual relationships, even with black sheep.

The political situation in Japan is truly dismal. Democracy here has metamorphosed into autocratic politics,

and the views of only a few reign supreme. All one hears about the *Daijosai* to be held this fall are arguments about whether it should be a national event or a public event of the Imperial household. Why can't politicians have the good grace to rejoice on this happy occasion?

Japan's international role will become more and more important. Japan must make its international contribution based on a competition of ethics, rather than a military one. Japan's urgent duty is to develop into an ethical nation.

We must, without delay, bid farewell to a democracy which obstructs the path to world peace.

Takehiko Nakamura (Vice chairman, *Zenkoku Yushi Dairengo* [All-Japan Federation of Volunteers])

Mr. Nakamura was born in 1912. He became aware of the nationalist movement as a teenager, and was influenced by his mentor, (Motoki) Matsunaga, and a student senior to him, Shoji Kageyama, while he was studying at Kokugakuin University. In 1933, he was arrested in an incident involving the *Shinpeitai* [Imperial Bodyguards], in which direct imperial rule was advocated, and thrown in jail. He is one of the leaders of the *Zenkoku Yushi Dairengo*.

The *Zenkoku Yushi Dairengo* is a group of individuals from all parts of Japan, who participate as volunteers. Planned activities determined by a policy committee, in which anyone may participate, develop into national movements carried out by members in each camp. We are joined together by the motto "act courageously in an emergency," and under certain conditions, we take action as a group. A recent example is the incident in which staff members of a Hokkaido newspaper obtained visas from the Soviet Union and went to Kunashiri. Since we found this behavior unacceptable, we took action as a group, with members from all over Japan taking part, and discussed the matter in a civilized way with the people at the newspaper. We were able to convince them of the error of their ways, and they agreed to publish an article I had written.

Our numbers are small, but I have great hopes for the future, since we have a core of young, talented members. I too have a strong desire to build a new democratic camp in Japan, based on our group, but my time is past. My responsibility is to disseminate the ideology of democracy which I have been assiduously cultivating, and I must entrust my dreams to our young members.

Personally, I espouse a Heisei Restoration Movement as an extension of the Showa Restoration Movement. That way, we may be able to accomplish what we were unable to do in the Showa era. If I were to narrow my goals down to three, then the first would be to define the position of the emperor explicitly, and restore his original authority. That means treating him as a sovereign, and furnishing him with the authority appropriate to a sovereign. The second would be to establish a national defense by building a properly organized army. I think it

is wonderful that we do not make war, but it is nonsense for us not to defend our nation. The third goal, and this is within the domain of the *Zenkoku Yushi Dairengo*, would be a restructuring of the educational system, with the emperor at its basis. Since the existing educational system is fundamentally incorrect, we must rebuild it so that it is, once again, one which is rooted in the basis of Japanese thought, our history, and the emperor.

In order to solve our land problems, I advocate returning to the era of the *Taika* [645-650] reforms, and making all land national property. Japan's basic principles, the emperor's land and his people, are of vital importance to a complete resolution of our current state of emergency. These ideas have something in common with the concepts of socialism and, as far as land problems are concerned, and only land problems, I think the socialistic precepts are correct. Since the situation has become so serious, only drastic emergency measures can correct it. The question is: what sort of shock is needed to bring about these reforms? I am reminded of the Manchurian Incident of 1931, which occurred at a time when social conditions in Japan had reached an impasse, and the Japanese people were thoroughly dissatisfied. The concepts advocated by the left-wing movement changed the flow of events overnight, and capitalism, political parties, and politics collapsed. Japan moved in the wrong direction, and without restoring direct imperial rule. But at that point, we thought that our dreams were about to be realized, and that is the reason behind the incident involving the Imperial Bodyguards.

Now the Japanese people have jobs, and enough to eat, so they don't complain. But it is only banks and large corporations which are enjoying enormous profits, and injustice is rife. Basically, the current situation is no different from the way things were before the Manchurian Incident. I am certain that the day will come when the people will make their wishes known, when they can no longer tolerate things as they are. I only hope that their intentions will be in the right direction.

Our group has three main types of activities. The first is mass movements. We spread the word about enlightenment in an attempt to raise the consciousness of the people, so that they can articulate their demands. The second is political maneuvering, from the top, backed by the mass movements. We manipulate people who are actually in power, or who are in a position to overthrow those who are, or the mass media, and use their power to usurp the government's authority or to change policies. The third is the use of force, in other words, terrorism. We use terrorism when mass movements or political maneuvering cannot accomplish our goals, or to make them easier to accomplish. We resort to terrorism only if we are sure that our cause is certain to be advanced if we attack something, or kill somebody. Since, at present, we have no particular target in mind, terrorism would be foolish. We are now at the stage where we are trying to organize an effective mass movement, to prepare for an emergency.

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I do not object to the *Daijosai* being conducted as an official event of the Imperial household. What is important is that the *Daijosai* be done properly and correctly, and I would like to tell the government not to interfere with it. What disappoints me is that the people are not permitted to send contributions for the *Daijosai*. It is not simply the rice plants from the sacred rice fields which make the *Daijosai* significant, but also the mountains of contributions from the people sent in celebration of the event. Preventing the Japanese people from expressing their true sentiments is tantamount to obstructing the relationship between the emperor and the people, and this must be corrected.

Masadaï Ninagawa (Chairman, Daihikai [Great Compassion Association])

Mr. Ninagawa was born in 1951. Affected by Mishima's suicide, he joined the nationalist movement. In 1984 he inherited the position of chairman from his mentor Shusuke Nomura. In 1987, he singled out Sumitomo Realty and Development Co. as the ringleader behind astronomical land prices, and made an assault on the residence of the chairman of the board. After serving more than three years in prison, he was released in April.

We intend to join with the *Issuikai*, the *Toitsu Sensen Giyugun* [United Front-Line Loyal and Brave Soldiers], and other kindred spirits whose acquaintance we have not yet made, all those referred to by the police as the "new right." We will form as many ties as possible, thus expanding our movement. Our current goals are the struggle against the Zushi Base in Ikeko, and combatting all that is illegal, irrational, and evil. Like the "Sumitomo Incident" in which I was involved in the past, irrational and evil practices continue to spread unnoticed. One of the responsibilities of the *Daihikai*, and the duty of all young nationalists is deciding how to combat problems like this by holding study meetings.

We are also planning cultural activities without any right-wing overtones, like the "Yokohama *Romankai* [Romance Group]," where we intend to hold a lecture every three months. These lectures will not be geared toward members of the right-wing movement. I would like to encourage ordinary people to come.

Since our world consists of so few people, we will continue to "sharpen our fangs," while shouldering the responsibility of legitimacy, as suggested by Shusuke Nomura. If we do not, then we will be destroyed by the system. We will focus on fighting the system, and continue our struggle, together with the *Giyugun*.

While I was in prison, what I thought most about was the fact that the postwar nationalist movement, including myself, may have gone along all these years without having true concern for the people. I don't think we were able to feel real affection for them.

Though we are a nationalist movement, we were the ones who took the side of corporations during the struggle against environmental pollution, using the excuse that

the left-wing movement was behind it to justify our actions. Since the leftists were involved in the fight against Narita Airport, we ended up helping to suppress the farmers. There have been many cases like this.

But when I took the time to contemplate these problems, I realized that in the struggles against environmental pollution and Narita Airport, the nationalist movement should have been the first to react to and to be aware of these problems. However, the nationalists, who should have been the first to espouse the causes of people who were suffering from pollution, or divested of their land, had on every occasion found themselves taking the side of the establishment. I think that it is important to reflect on these issues with humility and, now that a new generation is coming to the forefront, to increase our awareness, together with our young members, and to present our case to the people. A movement which develops its activity with the goal of relieving the pain and misery of the masses is truly a nationalist movement.

As for the *Daijosai*, we should not try to make it a success by going out into the streets with sound trucks. The *Daijosai* is not an event, it is an occasion for prayer. Through prayer, one develops the correct attitude, and one's way of life becomes clear in a natural way. This should be our starting point.

We should not look to our nation or our statesmen for moral guidelines. We need to have our own principles.

Once we have realized that we are nationalists, it should be possible for us to form ties with nationalist movements throughout the world. A nationalist movement which is incapable of doing that risks ending up as a movement which seeks to protect only the interests of its own nation. I would like to develop a nationalist movement which will join hands with people fighting for independence within large nations, and to share in their suffering. And I would like to do this concurrently with Yokohama *Romankai* activities.

I would also like to send our young members abroad, so that they can witness what is happening in Palestine, and apartheid in South Africa, with their own eyes. I think that I should do this, too.

Shusuke Nomura (Shin Romanha [New Romance Group])

Mr. Nomura was born in 1935. He founded the *Yukoku Doshikai* [The Way of Patriotism Group] in 1961. In 1963, he burned down the residence of Ichiro Kono, for which he spent 12 years in prison. In 1977 he attacked the headquarters of the *Keidanren* [Federation of Economic Organizations] and was again sent to prison, this time serving six years. During that time, he consolidated and fortified his basic philosophy, and now acts as a spiritual leader for the new right-wing movement, whose main goal is overthrowing the postwar system.

I love my country. It's as simple as that. Some people say that they hate Japan, and that they hate the Imperial family. I have absolutely no intention of meddling in their affairs. People have a right to their dislikes or their apathy. But I have an extreme dislike for people who are making a profit from their dislike for Japan, or who further their own interests by digging up Japan's defects or weak points.

Now that the Marxist phantom has been destroyed, people are starting to listen to what we say. I have continually insisted that trying to solve all problems with one doctrine, one canon, or one prescription leads to totalitarianism. In that sense, Japan's imperial system is extremely liberal, since it has neither doctrines nor canons.

In the history of mankind, what was the first achievement that precipitated rapid advancements in physics? It was the concept of "zero," which developed in India in the sixth century. Before that, numbering had started with one. Through the discovery of zero, the diffusion of physics was astronomical, and theories about outer space and Einstein's theory of relativity were born.

The emperor of Japan represents the discovery of zero in a political sense. The zero of mathematics has become a universal concept, but the political concept of zero remains original to Japan. That is the destiny which we have inherited through our history. Such was probably the case with Stalin and Mao Zedong. Present-day leaders like Kim Il-Song have tried to achieve the "zero" existence, in other words, power. He has strived for power (zero), and failed. But, to move in that direction, one must exercise authority. North Korea has become trapped in its own contradictions, and cannot escape.

In that sense, Japan has, from a historical and political point of view, by discovering political zero, achieved a superior political system. Therefore, there is no need to argue for the imperial system, or to make a display of it. I think it is sufficient to accept each era for what it was. Aspects of the Imperial household change with each era, but its substance has not changed at all, and is unlikely to change in the future.

Recently, I produced a film describing the "*Shin Romanha*," [entitled "Slaughter the Oppressors—That Is What Love Is About"] (to be released this fall, distributed by Toei). Film makes a stronger impression than outdoor speeches or the printed word.

But my feeling that the postwar system must be overthrown has not changed. I want to see the age in which we sell our souls for bread come to an end. I want to see the manifestation of a nation and a citizenry of which the Japanese people can be proud, and I want to have pride in myself.

Little things are very important, too, like maintaining strong friendships and sharing in one's friends' sorrows. When things like that are forgotten, and we start to think

that everything is all right as long as we have money, or food to eat, or live in a big house, then we become warped human beings.

We must join hands with people all over the world, and work to build a nation of which we can be proud. We must rid ourselves of "right-wing" and "left-wing" prejudices, and behave more honestly. If we love our country, and we want to make the most of our lives, we must think about what to do in pursuit of these goals. That is why I have named our group the *Shin Romanha*, to get people to think about these things.

[Yasuki] Maeda (Director, *Gakusei Seinen Junsei Domei* [Perfect Alliance of Students and Youth])

Mr. Maeda was born in 1951. He became active in the *Gakusei Seinen Junsei Domei* when he began his studies in the *Shinto* Faculty of the Kokugakuin University. He continued to devote himself to the alliance after graduating, putting up posters and doing soapbox oratory. In 1977, he went into service at the Suwa Shrine in Sapporo. In 1981, he was appointed director of the alliance.

I guess the main theme of our activities is the coronation. Our wish is not simply for the coronation to be successful. We want it to be the starting point for the new age which we envision. We want to convey to ordinary people that the "romance" of Japanese mythology can in fact become reality. We must find a way to appeal to young people, rather than those of the older generation, since the young generation has been educated in the postwar system.

But I wonder how many of our young people, even those in the same vocation, *Shinto*, have given serious thought to the fundamental nature of Japan or to the Imperial household. It is all very well to have activities which are directed toward the masses, but what we have done is to begin with efforts to raise the consciousness of young people in shrine circles, urging them to be more aware of these issues. Since many of our members are associated with shrines, we started out by encouraging *Shinto* priests all over Japan to join together with us.

We had our young members go out into the streets to hand out pamphlets, and to step up to the microphone to announce that the coronation is to be held in November. Theory is of secondary importance. What we want is for them to have these experiences. They are different from ordinary people in that they have received specialized education necessary for the priesthood, so these experiences provide an opportunity for those who have been apathetic about the Imperial household to open their eyes.

This spring we organized a caravan to travel through the streets of Japan. Since each town or village has a shrine organization, we have them assemble a number of people, and give outdoor speeches at three or four locations each day. We distribute flyers produced by the head shrine. In the evenings we show films at local shrines. These films revere the memory of Emperor

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Showa, and announce the new Imperial age which we are about to enter. This caravan operates once or twice a month, and covers a distance of 1,900 kilometers each time.

In an ideal situation, the shrines themselves and the Shinto priests would be the vanguard of the nationalist movement, and would work for the future of Japan. But this is unlikely to happen, since some of the shrines have become more interested in making money. If those participating in our movement, and not only those in shrine circles, cannot first convince their professional colleagues to change, then no matter how we appeal to the masses, we will not gain their understanding. We must present good arguments, and we must also nurture people with qualities that will gain us the trust of others. That is the basis of our movement.

The 30th anniversary of the founding of our group will be noted on 1 December 1990. Since it coincides with two very important events, the accession to the throne and the *Daijosai*, we want to make it a stepping stone to our next series of activities.

Kozo Matsumoto (Vice chairman, *Nippon Seinen Kyokushindan* [Japan Spirit of the Rising Sun Youth Group])

Mr. Matsumoto was born in 1937. In 1956, the *Nippon Seinen Kyokushindan* was formed in Akashi by Joji Katayama, who had been the leader of a youth movement. Its purpose was to revitalize the Japanese spirit which had been destroyed by the war. In 1964, the group, wishing to expand the patriotic movement throughout Japan, moved its headquarters to Tokyo. Members number approximately 50.

Our group, the *Nihon Seinen Kyokushindan*, collected contributions and built a platform for a huge Japanese flag, measuring 20 meters, in front of Akashi Castle in Akashi City. Since then, for 30 years, we have been raising the flag every day. This is a symbol of the *Kyokushindan's* intention to restore the "heart" of Japan which was stolen by American ideology, and imperial Japan in its true form.

Japan's spirit has not been revived in the postwar period. The main reason why it has not lies in the fact that Japan has been branded as the villain in the Greater East Asia War, and that stigma remains to this very day. That is why we are advocating the reevaluation of the significance of the war, and the reholding of the Tokyo trials.

That war could not possibly have been simply one of aggression. It was a war of survival and self-defense. Japan was fighting against the United States and European nations which were attempting to take control of the nations of Asia. As a result, most of the Asian nations achieved independence and, what is more, economic interchange with those nations has formed the basis of postwar Japanese production.

I do not deny that some poor excuses for soldiers did horrible things. But to end this vicious cycle where Japan is forever coerced into making reparations to and providing economic aid for Korea and China to stay on their good side, we must assure that the Greater East Asia War, which had such a great impact, is evaluated properly. As an independent, sovereign nation, Japan should have its own view of history.

Another one of our goals is to revive the Imperial Rescripts on Education. As the Japan Teachers' Union's self-destructive actions escalate, patriots must advocate a constructive educational system. We feel that the best way to provide a spiritual backbone for young people is the Imperial Rescripts. The contents of Imperial Rescripts are universal. The portion reading "in times of emergency, serve your country bravely" may prompt some to say "Japan has eschewed war. Do you want us to have another war?" but you can find this concept anywhere in the world. Doesn't anyone attempt to protect his family if it is in danger, and one's place of business, also? Isn't it natural to fight for one's country if it is attacked by an enemy? A nation that has forgotten how to fight will perish.

The 15 members of the Tokyo Branch of the *Kyokushindan* are involved in activities such as study conferences, lectures, the distribution of pamphlets, and the publishing of a bulletin. For 10 years, without fail, we have been holding a "Blue Sky Meeting to Think About Tomorrow" every Saturday evening, at the plaza at the West Exit of Shinjuku Station.

We have a Nationalist Reform Council (president, Shin Yamaguchi), of which I am vice president. Free discussions take place at council meetings, in which any member may participate. Our unification movement is also quite active. We hold rallies on issues such as the return of the Northern Territories, the institution of an independent constitution, our opposition to a China-Japan treaty, and the textbook problem. And we have been active all along in opposing the series of attacks on the Imperial family by radical leftists.

However, our movement will get nowhere if we incur the dislike of the people. We intend to persist in appealing to the people at the grass roots level, through the medium of speeches. And we want people to trust us and to feel sure that "as long as there is a right-wing movement, the politicians will stay in line" and "as long as there is a right-wing movement, there will never be a communist revolution."

Nevertheless, the reason why the right-wing movement is misunderstood is that people are always wondering what our next target is going to be. Our goal is definitely not terrorism, but to build a peaceful world. We would use terrorism only as a last, desperate resort.

Our fervent hope is that the *Daijosai* scheduled to take place this year, Japan's most solemn ceremony, will be conducted with the majesty befitting a traditional ceremony, and we pray that the accession to the throne will

take place without mishap. In our nationalist reform deliberations, we are also, of course, preparing to prevent any sort of action on the part of terrorists to disrupt the *Daijosai*.

Shigenori Miura (Representative, Toensha [Far-Sighted Society])

Mr. Miura was born in 1949, and attended Waseda University. At the university, he became active in the *Nippon Gakusei Domei* [Japan Students' Alliance], serving as a committee chairman. In 1977, he gathered together some former members of the alliance, and created the *Toensha* with the idea that it would act as a steering organization. The group's aim is to establish a Restoration and Reform Party based on popular support. It is affiliated with other right-wing groups, such as the Yukio Mishima Study Group.

We consider the *Daijosai* to be a ceremony which is deeply rooted in Japanese tradition. Nonetheless, the government (the LDP) has classified the *Daijosai* as a private ceremony of the Imperial household, and the accession ceremony as a national event. They have separated the two and, in doing so, are going against tradition, as far as the *Daijosai* is concerned.

This attitude clearly contradicts Japanese tradition. The emperor's existence is based on two concurrent authorities, ceremonial authority and administrative authority, and that is the way it should be.

We feel that having a symbolic emperor runs counter to Japan's traditional system, and that we must oppose the government's anti-nationalist behavior.

As far as our fight against the left-wing movement is concerned, since the presidents of four Christian universities came out with a joint statement opposing the *Daijosai* in April, the *Nippon Gakusei Domei* [Japan Students' Alliance], our students who are on the front lines, have been planning their effort to have these presidents censured from within the schools, focusing on Meiji Gakuin University. We are also planning a mass rally, with this fall in mind, hoping to correct the government's mistakes.

Toensha's basic ideology lies in overthrowing the postwar system, the Yalta-Potsdam system. The Yalta-Potsdam system was formulated by the victors of World War II, and was intended to put the United States and the Soviet Union in control of the postwar world. We view it as a system intended to suppress the mission of the Japanese people in the framework of world history, and Japan's ethical position within the world.

However, 45 years after our defeat in World War II, the Yalta system has been shaken by the decline of the United States and the Soviet Union, the rise the vanquished nation, Japan, and the unification of Germany. The historical upheavals currently taking place are now the theme of our activities, and are proof that we are

correct. We must concentrate our efforts on furthering the collapse of the Yalta-Potsdam system.

To destroy the Yalta-Potsdam system which has been choking Japan, to promulgate the proper principles and ideology of the Japanese people throughout Japan, and to extend these to Asia, and to the entire world, to build a world system in which all peoples are truly equal, and all mankind can share in each other's happiness, these are our ultimate goals.

We interpret Japan-U.S. trade friction not simply as a problem of trade friction, but as the opposition between nations in a battle for leadership, now that a new world order is being formed. The United States has linked defense and economics together, and has even dared to interfere in Japan's cultural problems. We are placing great emphasis on this point. In other words, it is our view that the United States has begun to put a stranglehold on Japan.

Similarly, there is the problem of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. This year marks exactly 30 years from the time when the treaty was revised. We have been advocating all along that this treaty is one link of the United States' policy to weaken Japan, which was built into the Yalta-Potsdam system. Japan must quickly abrogate this treaty, and establish its own defense system.

The future relationship between Japan and the United States should be one in which Japan has the capability to defend itself on its own, and in which Japan forms a military alliance with the United States on equal terms.

Hiroo Mori (Representative, Zuiho Seinensha [Sacred Rice Plant Youth Society])

Born in 1949, Mr. Mori majored in politics and economics at Kokushikan University, and also did graduate work there. In 1975, he founded the *Zuiho Seinensha*. The group's activities include a movement to promote the return of the Northern Territories, and activities opposing anti-nationalist corporations. There are approximately 40 members, mainly salaried workers and students. Mr. Mori is employed as an office worker at a girls' high school in Tokyo Prefecture.

Though more than 40 years have passed since World War II ended, there are still American military bases in Japan. We find that, in itself, undesirable. Isn't that the natural way for the Japanese people to feel? If we did not feel that way, we would be on the road to ruin.

Of course I am opposed to the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. Here, all we need to do is to abrogate the current treaty and draw up an equal alliance, an alliance which does not allow for U.S. military bases in Japan. Should the United States be attacked, then Japan will go to its defense. But I think that the threat to Japan from the United States is greater than that from the Soviet Union.

Now people are saying that the Cold War between the United States and the USSR has ended, and that tension has eased. But I think that the current situation should

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be termed the "New Yalta Agreement." I certainly cannot feel optimistic about the events which have taken place since last year, the activities in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe.

Tension between the United States and the Soviet Union has eased for military and economic reasons, in the interest of both nations. Communism as an ideology has certainly become extinct. In its place we will have an era where nationalism and national interests will be important.

Which nations will be Japan's partners in this new age? Some people suggest that we join hands with Germany, but I do not agree. The cultures are too different.

Two years from now the unification of the EC will take place, and an enormous Europe which includes unified Germany may become a new threat to Japan. In any case, these will be difficult times for Japan.

To cope with these trends, Japan must form an economic bloc together with the people of color in Asia and Africa. But it must not be one where Japan holds supremacy, like the pre-war mutual prosperity sphere. We must convey Japan's imperial "heart" to the people of Asia and Africa. If these regions stabilize and prosper, then we can build a relationship equal to that between Europe and the United States.

However, Japan itself must change if we are to obtain the trust of these nations. We will need to do a great deal to promote human interchange, rather than simply providing financial aid, as we have in the past. If we do not, then the wounds of World War II will never heal.

There are now a lot of people from Asian nations who come to Japan to work, seeking the strong yen. We must give official recognition these foreign workers. But when we do, we should limit their stay to three or four years, in order to keep things clear cut.

There are people who fear that if Asian workers settle in Japan, the pure blood of the Japanese people will be defiled. I also see the danger there, but if that happens, there is nothing we can do about it, is there? We won't have any problems if these people become upstanding Japanese citizens. Bloodlines really do not matter. We should be satisfied if they can become upstanding Japanese.

I have been involved with problems concerning reparations to Taiwanese who were formerly Japanese soldiers. One of these ex-soldiers once told me that he "volunteered for the Japanese Army because he wanted to be accepted as a Japanese." During the Second World War, American soldiers of Japanese descent fought bravely for their native land, the United States. Isn't the attitude one takes in desiring to make a contribution to his country more important than blood?

Tadaaki Morita (Representative and organizer, (Kokufu Kurabu [The Japanese Way Club])

Mr. Morita was born in 1949. After graduating from Naniwa Shu-jo High School, he joined the Ground Self-Defense Force, and then went on to attend Kokushikan University. He was involved in the assault on the *Keidanren* in 1977, and served five years in prison. In 1984, he organized the Asia Forum, and started a monthly publication, *THE WINDS OF ASIA*. In 1987, he formed the *Kokufu Kurabu* to act as a liaison organization.

First of all, I would like to make it clear that I do not intend to cling to labels like "right-wing" or "nationalist." I have no desire to stand on the dais and make pronouncements about what we should do as members of the right-wing or as nationalists. I simply want to cherish my thoughts as those of one person who was born in this country, and to proceed from there to share them with my countrymen and with those of other nations.

Looking back over the years, what I think of is my aspirations. I want to further cultivate my accomplishments as a Japanese, and to preserve my own abundant human sentiments. If I can do that, then I feel I will be able to express my thoughts and hopes on a national level.

The *Kokufu Kurabu*, in which I serve as an organizer, has three articles as its precepts. In Article 2, it is written "discuss important national problems." Among the many problems which we are trying to solve, there are some which are side issues, or of secondary importance, but there are always major problems connected with the survival of our nation.

In the eyes of one Japanese citizen, the current political situation is absolutely desolate. Even if one puts aside the problems of the existing constitution or the Shinto directives, Japan has for a long time been controlled by the attitudes of statesmen. This is not appropriate for a truly independent nation. Positive proof of this has already been provided by the situation regarding official visits to Yasukuni Shrine, the censorship of social studies textbooks, and sanctions against China after the Tiananmen incident.

The habit of waiting to see how the other nation reacts, and then making a decision, regardless of the matter under consideration, and cheerfully requesting advice, is simply not behavior appropriate to an independent nation. The recent instance of "diplomacy of groveling" to South Korea was worse than a reaffirmation of a cowardly government. The upshot of that was the foolish request to the emperor to make a statement in accordance with South Korea's wishes. This incident has lowered Japan's dignity.

Prior to President No's visit to Japan, our group protested to the South Korean Government and to Prime Minister Kaifu. This sort of behavior is a black mark on the reputation of Japan, the economic superpower.

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In this sense, perhaps West Germany is just stubborn, but its behavior has been admirable. Though, like Japan, it was defeated in World War II, West Germany did establish a basic national legal code. It announced that it would not draw up an official constitution until the day when the two Germanys were reunited. There are worlds of difference between West Germany and Japan, whose government unhesitatingly proclaims that "its people have become deeply attached" to a constitution which was forced upon it. Here, the difference in powers of discernment is evident.

Compared to West Germany, which is about to realize its dream of unification, Japan is pathetic, not yet having been able to escape from its postwar image. Japan continues to fail to say what needs to be said. Because I have such a deep love for my country, I am enraged that it has become accustomed to humiliation and to keeping a low profile.

The Japan-U.S. Security Treaty is another factor which has reduced Japan to subservience. The treaty should be revised so that it is more equal. There are American military bases in Japan, but no Japanese military bases in the United States. This is clearly unequal. American military bases should be removed from Japan.

In the third of the three articles of the *Kokufu Kurabu*, it is written "respect the spirit of opposition." Among private activists, there are many who view the government and the LDP as conservatives, and thus have faith in them. Therefore, they try to get close to them or to bring the politicians close to themselves.

As far as I am concerned, the government and the LDP are not conservatives in any healthy sense. They defend their own interests by currying favor with the United States, and prostrating themselves before the Chinese and South Korean Governments. We feel that the basic attitude of the government must be to carry through its assertions resolutely, without looking back.

The same holds true both for problems at home and abroad. For instance, once we have obtained confirmation that an independence or democratic movement in a particular region or nation is indigenous and legitimate, then we should not hesitate to join together with that movement, and to support it as much as we are able.

Inside and outside China, in Tibet and East Turkestan, independence movements are currently very active. We have been carrying on interchanges with them, including the exchange of bulletins. But what is needed here is a system of cultural exchange, or the recognition that we are all equal. I sincerely hope that the prayers of all of us who adhere to legitimate causes will soon be answered.

Koichiro Yamazaki (Managing director, *Nihon Boei Kenkyukai* [Association for Research on the Defense of Japan])

Mr. Yamazaki was born in 1919. After graduating from Meiji University, he joined the Mito Infantry Regiment.

Captured at the border between the USSR and Manchuria at the end of World War II, he was held prisoner-of-war in Siberia for four years. After his release, he participated in right-wing activities while working for a publishing company. In 1977, he founded the *Nihon Boei Kenkyukai*. The group's main activities are lecture meetings and study conferences. It publishes a bulletin entitled "*Sakimori* [a name given to soldiers who defended borders in ancient times]." There are 300 members.

Our principle is to preserve our fatherland, resplendent in history, tradition, and culture.

But the current international situation, contrary to the prayers of the Japanese people for a long-awaited and enduring peace for all generations, is extremely complex and ever more strained. Our nation is unable to awaken from its illusion of peace. People, living in their own world of heavenly bliss, shouting "peace, peace!" continue to scream their opposition to the Self-Defense Forces, their advocacy of unarmed neutrality, and to urge for the abrogation of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty.

Even though we are sneered at by other countries for being "an abnormal nation, ignorant of defense," we are unable to come up with even one constitutional revision. The LDP is full of people wishing to preserve the existing constitution, such as Senpachi Oishi and Kunio Hatoyama. Elections seem to take precedence over constitutional revision. Senility pervades the LDP. There hasn't been a real politician for quite some time, not since (Nobusuke) Kishi died. When President Chon Tu-hwan visited Japan, Emperor Showa made a statement about "an unfortunate era," "a regrettable era." This time, the emperor described his "feeling of pain and regret." At this rate, every time a South Korean president visits Japan, the emperor will have to apologize. What sort of apology are we expected to offer next time?

Some people claim that when they hear *Kimigayo*, or see the Japanese flag, they are reminded of the war. Did our flag make war? These are just excuses, and a sign of poor judgement.

What is our most pressing issue? The upcoming grand ceremony, of course. The government has announced that it will treat the accession ceremony as a national event, and the *Daijosai* as a function of the Imperial household. This is just as I expected. The Kaifu cabinet has been influenced by the separation of religion and state myth forced upon us by the left-wing movement, and has followed the example set by the Takeshita cabinet's handling of Emperor Showa's funeral. By conducting the grand ceremony as two separate functions, it has made an idiotic decision.

But placing the blame entirely on the Kaifu cabinet will not solve anything. Even if we had an Abe cabinet, the result would have been the same. The degree of shallowness in the perception of history, and of the emperor, is substantially the same in all politicians.

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JAPAN

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There are probably many people who are still reminded of sound trucks with their volume at full blast when they think of the right-wing movement. I concede that there is

some point in outdoor speeches, but I intend to proceed with quiet, well-planned activities with enlightenment as the ultimate goal.

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